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ABSTRACT

Migration is generally conceptualized in terms of "streams" and "counterstreams." A stream is a group of migrants having a common origin and destination in a given migration period. The movement in the opposite direction is called its counterstream. The latter is usually the smaller of the two. A counterstream can be divided into two components: first time movers to an area (Primary Migrants) and return movers (Return Migrants). The purpose of this paper is to examine the feasibility of the differentiating between primary and return migrants within the Black countersteam, that is, Black migration to the South. A counterstream migration of Black people to the South has existed for many decades. The Census data indicates this counterstream has been steadily increasing from the first data available in 1935-1940 through the 1973 data from the Current Population Survey. As part of a larger study of Black migration to the South, the data for this analysis were derived from the Public Use Tapes of the 1970 Census of Population and Housing. Given the nature of selectivity in migration, certain socio-demographic and socioeconomic factors have been selected for analysis. The variables presented for analysis correspond to those variables showing themselves as useful measures of distinctions between migrant groups: age-sex relationships, marital status, education, income, and occupation. (Author/JM)

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BLACK MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH:

Primary and Return Migrants

by

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BLACK MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH:
Primary and Return Migrants

Migration is generally conceptualized in terms of "streams" and "counterstreams." Goldscheider loosely defines these constructs as "a group of migrants having a common origin and destination in a given migration period... The movement in the opposite direction to a stream is called its counterstream" (Goldscheider, 1971:52-54). The distinction drawn between the two streams has generally been that the counterstream is the smaller of the two streams. Although many demographers, notably Lee (1969), have stressed the importance of counterstreams in understanding the total migration picture, little research has been done on the subject.

Goldscheider (1971), among others, has set forth a theoretical framework of migration, which includes the study of counterstream migration as necessary and fundamental to an understanding of the determinants of migration, as well as the migration process itself. He divides the counterstream into two components: first time movers to an area (Primary Migrants) and return movers (Return Migrants).[2] Although there have been several studies dealing with return migration to a particular area (Alvarez, 1967; Tadros, 1968; Johnson, 1971), there has been little research done on the distinctions between the two subgroups of a counterstream migration.

Often a counterstream is composed solely, or to a very large extent, of return migrants. For example, Goldscheider (1971) notes that counterstream migration from the United States to

Italy and Puerto Rico have been composed largely of return migrants. But the study of internal migration with respect to counterstreams yields no pertinent data on the distinctions between primary and return movers. To this end, the purpose of this paper will be to examine the feasibility of the differentiating between primary and return migrants within the black counterstream, that is, black migration to the South.

The dominant black migration stream in America since 1910 has been from the South to the North. The "Great Migration" of 1916-1918 brought more than a half million persons from small towns and farms in the South to the metropolitan areas of the North. The stream continued through the decades of the twenties and thirties, despite the Depression. According to Census data, more than 119,000 Blacks moved to the North in the period of 1935-1940 (Table I). The counterstream during the same period numbered 32,761, or slightly more than one-fourth of the dominant stream.

The ensuing decades witnessed a continuous movement to the North. Between 1955 and 1960, more than 300,000 persons left the South. The numbers declined slightly in the next decade. In the period 1955-1960, while 300,000 persons moved from the South, the counterstream movement to the South had grown from small beginnings to number almost one-third the dominant stream in that period. Nearly 100,000 Blacks moved to the South during that period.

In the decade of the sixties, a little over 284,000 Blacks left the South, while about 126,000 persons moved to the South. Even with the increase of the North-to-South stream, the relative

view of the counterstream experienced substantial growth. For the 1965-1970 period, the counterstream was nearly half the size of the dominant stream.

Recent trends in southern economic expansion, the civil rights movements of the sixties, and the a resulting decrease in discrimination in the labor market, led stakeholds of migration to expect a steady but gradual growth in the size of the counterstream. What was not expected so early in the decade was the dramatic reversal in the historically dominant northbound stream. However, data from the 1971 Current Population Survey by [illegible] U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, [illegible] a tremendous upsurge in the volume of the counterstream. Between 1970 and 1971, 117,000 Blacks left the South, while nearly 200,000 left the North for southern destinations (Table 1). Considering all non-South regions, the CPS shows that 166,000 persons left the South while 267,000 persons moved from the West and North to the South. Since the counterstream is now substantially more than one-and-a-half times as large as the stream, the question arises as to when a counterstream is no longer a counterstream. Assuming that what the CPS shows is not a temporary phenomena, what we are witnessing is not only a migrational reversal of historical trends, but a [illegible] demographic revolution of sorts. To say that the short-run, as well as the long-run, implications of this reversal, for the South especially, are major, is an understatement.

The purpose of this paper, however, as stated above, is not to examine the implications of this phenomenon, but to focus on

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is often called the "brain drain." The same processes also occur within nations resulting in educational gains and losses for the sending and receiving communities depending on how the out-and in-migrants compare with the populations.

One of the questions guiding this research was whether or not the components of the Black counterstream were similar or dissimilar with respect to their educational levels.

In general, return migrants and primary migrants tend to exhibit significantly different levels of educational attainment (Table VIII). For example, the percentage of primary migrants with four or more years of college is more than twice that of return migrants. At the low end, the percentage of return migrants with seven or less years of regular schooling was almost three times as large as that of primary migrants.

It has been argued as early as 1960 that a completed high school education, or its equivalent in vocational school, had become a cultural norm in the United States (Bogue, 1969). In this study, it was found that the proportion completing at least four years of high school was substantially different for the two migrant subgroups. While more than 72% of the primary migrants had at least four years of high school, only half the return migrants had achieved a comparable level of education. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that approximately the same proportion of the two migrant subgroups had some college.

Marked differences may also be found in the education patterns for males and females among primary and return migrants. The largest educational difference between male return migrants and primary migrants was in the highest educational level, four or

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more years of college. Almost one-fifth of the primary migrants had attained that level of schooling compared to only 7.2% of the return migrants.

On the whole, there were greater differences among female return migrants and primary migrants than among the males. Contrary to the educational pattern found among the male migrant groups, the greatest differences were in the middle educational levels rather than at the upper and lower extremes. For example, the greatest difference among females was the high school level where 54.1% of the primary migrants had four years of high school compared to 33.0% of the return migrants.

Another interesting pattern reversal exists for males and females in the two migrant subgroups when comparing those with less than four years of high school to those with four years or more of high school. A higher percentage of female primary migrants had four years of high school or more than their male counterparts. Among return migrants, the females had a smaller percentage than their male counterparts. The differences in both migrant groups, however, were not large.

OCCUPATION AND INCOME

As the educational differentials would lead us to suspect, primary migrants and return migrants differ in their occupational distribution. Table IX shows that 13.4% of the primary migrants were professionals compared to 8.8% of the return migrants. The modal occupation of the primary migrants was clerical and kindred workers while the modal occupation for return migrants was service

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workers. If the occupations may be classified into "white collar" (professional, manager, sales, clerical), "skilled blue collar" (craftsmen, operatives, tranport operatives), and "unskilled blue collar" (laborers, farmers, service workers, private household workers, etc.) workers, it may be seen that almost twice as many return migrants were unskilled blue collar workers as primary migrants (Table X). Skilled blue collar occupations characterize primary and return migrants in approximately the same proportions.

In both migrant subgroups females had a larger proportion of white collar workers. Among return migrants women had a slightly larger proportion of professionals whereas among the primary migrants men had a substantially larger proportion of professionals. In the skilled blue collar occupations, males were predominant for both return migrants and primary migrants, as one would expect, given the traditional masculine character of the occupations involved. In the unskilled blue collar occupations women were predominant for both return and primary migrants. This may be accounted for by the disproportionately larger number of women working as service workers and private household workers.

Income stands as an anomaly in the context of other sociodemographic characteristics of the two migrant subgroups (Table XI). Educationally and occupationally, the primary migrants exhibit higher status characteristics. Yet in the terms of income, primary and return migrants show no major differences. At each income level, the differences do not exceed seven per cent. For example, 65.7% of the return migrants had incomes of $3,999 or less compared to 66.0% of the primary migrants. The middle income

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range of $4,000 to $7,999 was found to be equally characteristic of both migrant groups. Twenty-six per cent of the return migrants compared to 19.8% of the primary migrants were in the middle income range. Only 8.5% of the return and 8.4% of the primary migrants had incomes of $8,000 or more.

One possible explanation for the evenness of incomes of the two migrant subgroups is that the expected differences in income that derive from educational and occupational differences are countered by age difference, i.e., older, experienced blue collar workers will often earn as much as a younger, inexperienced white collar worker.

It should also be noted that a large proportion of the primary white collar workers were in the lower paying clerical and sales occupations whereas a sizable proportion of the return migrant skilled blue collar workers were in the relatively highly paid operative and transport occupations.

Despite the similarity of the incomes of the migrant groups, the other general characteristic is the uniformly low incomes. Less than 5% of the primary migrants and less than 1% of the returnees had incomes of $15,000 or more at the time of the census.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this paper has been to examine the utility of differentiating between primary migrants and return migrants in the Black counterstream migration to the South. With the 1970 Census Public Use Sample data on those migrants who were residing in the North in 1965 and in the South in 1970, including identification of place of birth, several questions were raised about

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the Black counterstream and its migrant subgroups, focusing on the size of the counterstream, characteristics of the place of residence, and characteristics of the migrants.

A counterstream migration of Black people to the South has existed for many decades. The Census data indicates this counterstream has been steadily increasing from the first data available (A 1935-1940 up through the 1973 data from the Current Population Survey. The majority of the Black counterstream is moving into metropolitan areas and not to the rural areas where most Blacks where located thirty years ago. Those moving into metropolitan areas were more likely than the total Black population to reside in areas outside the central city. It was also found that the counterstream migration was selective for age, marital status, education, and occupation. There was some variance between the return migrants and primary migrants for most of the characteristics. The highest selectivity was exhibited by the primary migrants. They were more likely to have higher educational levels, higher occupational levels, more likely to have a complete family, and were younger than return migrants. One anomaly was in income where primary and return migrants had generally similar levels.

By way of summary, the following points should be made:

1. There is a need for a less ambiguous definition of counterstream migration. Little attention has been paid to this theoretically and empirically important component of the migration picture.
2. The size of the Black counterstream migration to the South has exceeded that of the dominant stream to the North.
3. Primary migration and return migration, components of the

countercurrent, are two distinctive processes, each selective of different populations in terms of age structure, sex ratio, marital status, education, and occupation.

The present stage of theoretical development in migration is insufficient to provide the necessary framework for a meaningful interpretation of the processes of countercurrent migration and the characteristics of the component migrant subgroups. It is past time for new ground to be broken which will provide a fertile framework within which our understanding of population movement might be cultivated. But it is also possible that for the ground to be broken new conceptual tools will be needed to do the job.

FOOTNOTES

2. A "return" migrant is defined as a person born in the South who had a residence outside that South in 1965, and lived in the South in 1970. It is clearly recognized that other definitions might have more sociological implications of the return migration of a person who was originally in the South, moved to the North as an adult and back to the South would be very different from the return migrations of a person who moved to the North in early childhood and back to the South in some later date (perhaps still as a child). The movement as a child would fall within the generally category of "involuntary" migration. Comparative data unable obtained for the total Black population from the respective published "Census of Population and Housing reports. Inflows are incidental or aggregations. Unfortunately the Census data do not allow for any other definition than the one used. However, this hypothesis will be tested in a field survey to be completed as a part of the project.

3. The migrant records were compiled from the 1/100 State tapes of the Public Use Sample tapes for all states in the South. The Public Use Sample used a 1 in 1 (1%) sample, then subdivided into 1% and 1% samples. Different questionnaires were used, but with some items a comparison. The 1% sample was selected by designating every 8/thousandth 8th sample unit as a member of the 1% sample. See "1/Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation." Variables by State variable codes enumerated in Tum M is a function of the estimate of 8.8.8. Data. Tums for each variable there not exact for each case (person file) due to blanks in the Census questionnaire, missing variables, etc.

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TABLE V

DETAILED AGE DISTRIBUTION
Per Cent

AGE	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
15-19	26.1	21.6	24.3	9.3	10.7	10.0
20-24	39.2	31.7	36.2	19.8	17.1	18.4
25-29	14.7	16.8	15.5	16.4	17.4	16.9
30-34	5.3	6.0	5.6	14.7	17.4	16.1
35-39	5.3	7.8	6.3	11.0	7.8	9.3
40-44	2.4	4.2	3.2	7.6	6.6	7.1
45-49	2.0	1.8	1.9	4.9	3.4	4.1
50-54	0.8	3.0	1.7	4.4	4.3	4.3
55-59	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.2	5.7	4.5
60-64	0.8	1.8	1.2	2.7	2.5	2.6
65-69	0.0	1.8	0.7	2.9	2.7	2.8
70 +	2.0	2.4	2.2	3.2	4.3	3.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERSONS	245	167	412	409	438	847

Males: Age x Migrant Status: x^2= 96.83620; 11 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

Females: Age x Migrant Status: x^2= 43.77853; 11 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

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TABLE VI

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX*
Per Cent

STATUS	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Married, Spouse Present	69.5	76.0	72.7	65.5	50.3	57.4
Married, Spouse Absent	18.1	3.0	10.7	10.6	8.5	9.5
Widowed	1.0	5.0	2.9	4.8	14.4	9.9
Divorced	3.8	5.0	4.4	7.1	7.9	7.5
Separated	7.6	11.0	9.3	11.9	18.9	15.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
MIGRANTS	105	100	205	310	354	664

*excluding persons never married

Males: Marital Status x Migrant Status: X^2= 9.43994; 4 d.f.; non-significant.

Females: Marital Status x Migrant Status: X^2= 21.78618; 4 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

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TABLE VII

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY MIGRANT STATUS
Per Cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS	RETURN MIGRANTS	TOTAL MIGRANTS
Head of Household	28.2	40.3	36.3
Wife of Head	17.3	18.7	18.3
Son/Daughter of Head	10.2	16.9	14.7
Other Relative of Head	6.9	13.0	11.0
Roomer or Boarder, Patient or inmate not related	37.4	11.0	19.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
MIGRANTS	422	859	1281

X^2=44.7360 3 d.f. Significant at .001

TABLE VIII

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY SEX:
PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OLDER
Per Cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ELEMENTARY						
Less than 5 years	1.2	2.6	1.8	6.9	4.7	5.8
5-7 years	3.5	5.1	4.3	13.4	10.1	11.7
8 years	4.7	——	2.5	6 6	11.1	8.9
HIGH SCHOOL						
1-3 years	18.8	20.5	19.6	20.0	25.9	23.1
4 years	38.8	52.6	45.4	34.5	32.6	33.5
COLLEGE						
1-3 years	12.9	10.3	11.7	11.4	8.9	10.1
4 years or more	20.0	9.0	14.7	7.2	6.6	6.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERSONS	85	78	163	290	316	606

Males: Years of School Completed x Migrant Status: X^2=21.07140; 6 d.f.; significant at .01 level.

Females: Years of School Completed x Migrant Status: X^2=19.22021; 6 d.f.; significant at .01 level.

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TABLE IX

OCCUPATION BY SEX
Per Cent

OCCUPATION	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Professional, Tech.	17.5	9.8	13.1	7.6	10.3	9.0
Managers/Admin.	4.9	0.8	2.5	4.8	0.6	2.5
Sales Workers	1.9	6.8	4.7	1.9	4.2	3.1
Clerical Workers	16.5	42.1	31.0	8.3	17.5	13.2
Craftsmen	13.6	1.5	6.8	14.6	1.1	7.4
Operatives	18.4	8.3	12.7	19.4	16.9	18.0
Transport Operatives	2.9	———	1.3	6.0	0.8	3.3
Laborers	6.8	———	3.0	17.5	1.9	9.2
Farmers and Managers	———	———	———	0.3	0.3	0.3
Farm Laborers	1.9	———	0.8	2.9	1.1	1.9
Service Workers	14.6	24.1	19.9	16.5	30.6	24.0
Private Household	1.0	6.8	4.2	0.3	14.7	8.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	103	133	236	313	360	675

Males: Occupation x Migrant Status: X^2= 22.96518; 12 d.f.; significant at .05 level

Females: Occupation x Migrant Status: X^2=44.54604; 12 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

TABLE X

PUBLIC USE SAMPLE

BROAD OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS
Per Cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS	RETURN MIGRANTS	TOTAL MIGRANTS
White Collar	51.7	27.9	34.0
Blue Collar	23.7	17.9	34.3
Farm	0.9	2.2	1.9
Service	23.7	72.0	29.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERSONS	232	601	911

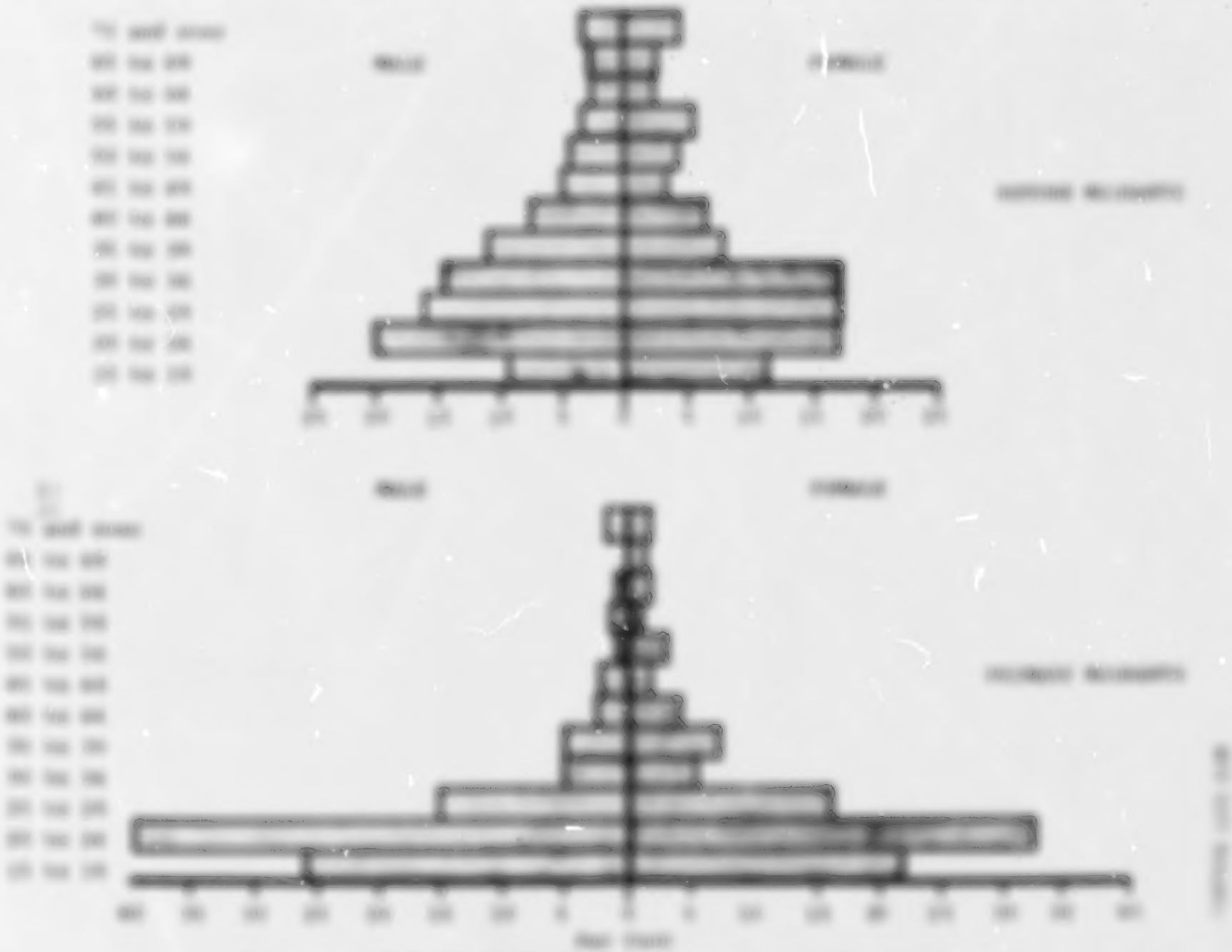
χ^2=44.7360 3 d.f. Significant at .001 level

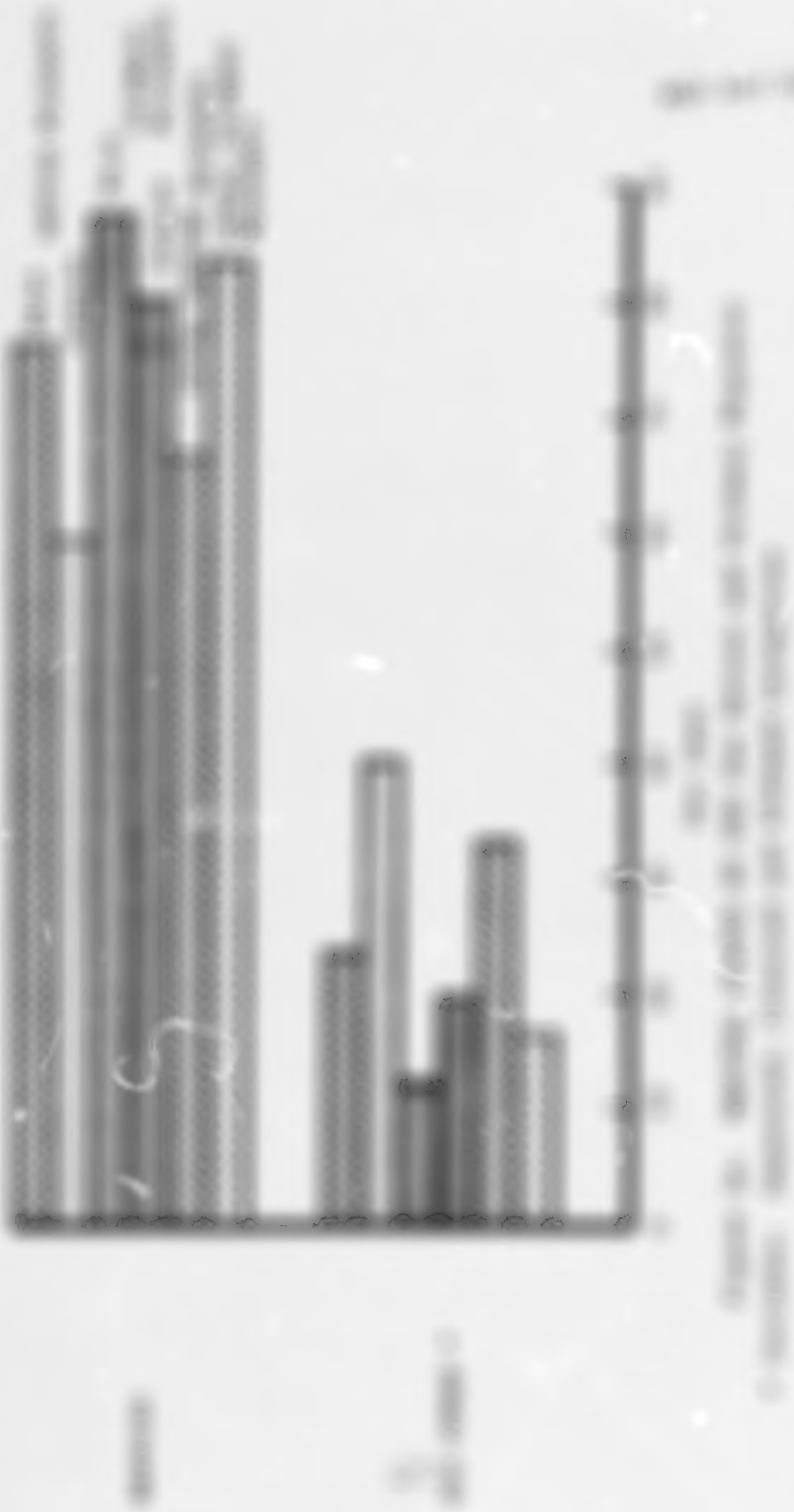
TABLE XI

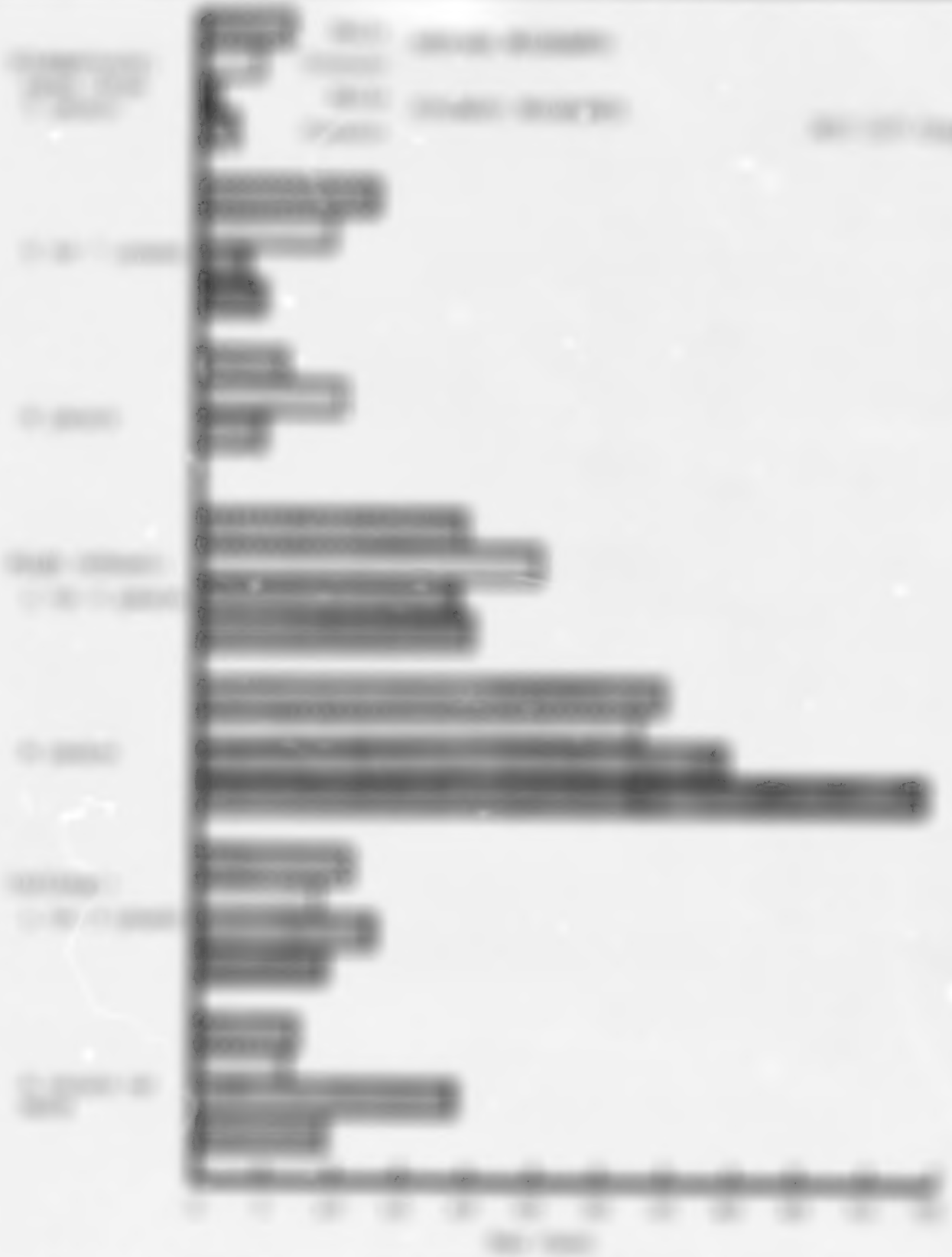
PERSONS UNDER 65 YEARS

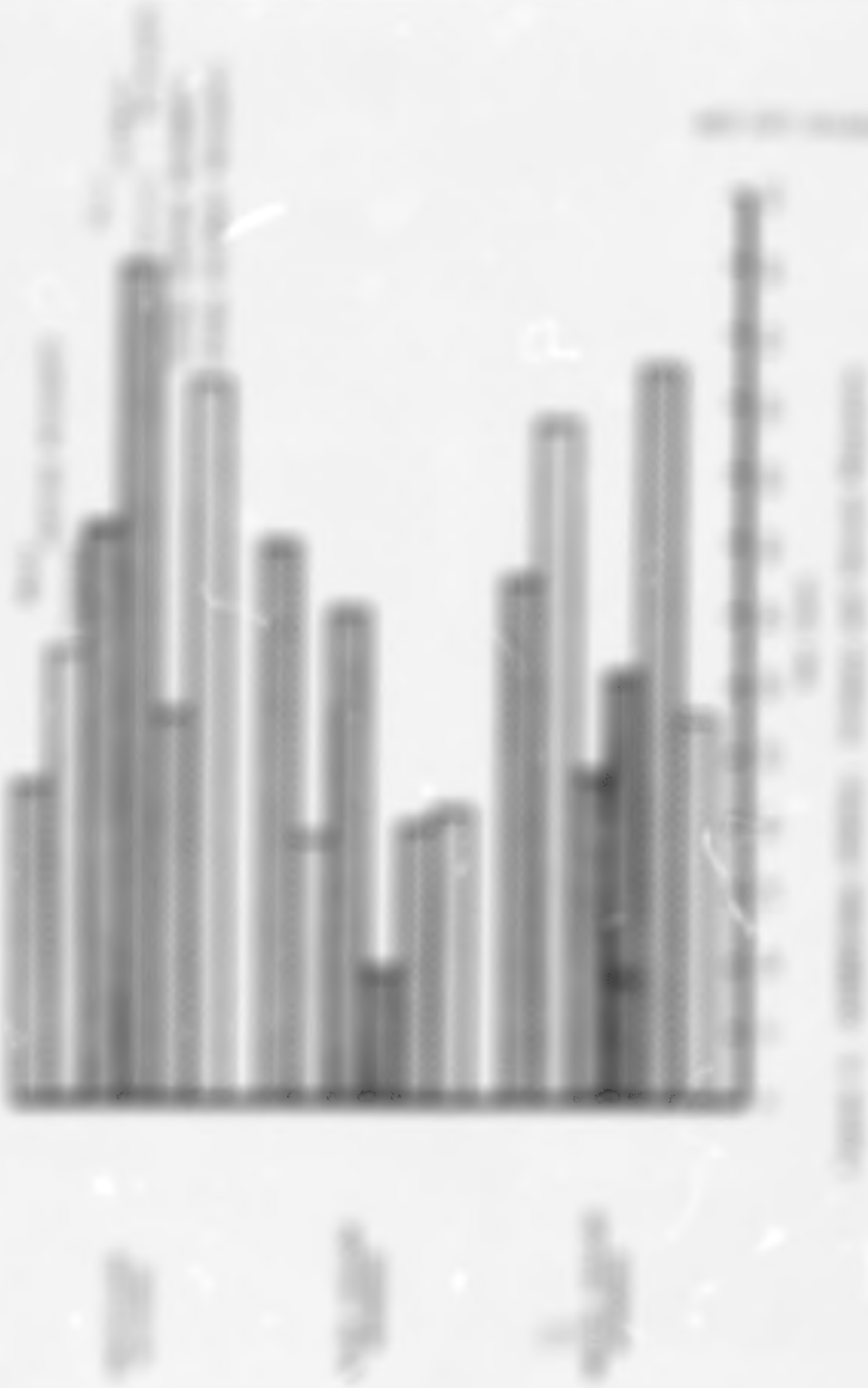
Per Cent

	PUERTO RICANS			NATIVE WHITES		
	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL
Under $1,000	15.5	12.0	13.9	16.7	11.9	13.9
$1,000-1,999	20.1	16.0	18.2	12.1	13.7	17.6
$2,000-2,999	16.9	15.7	16.4	10.0	10.6	10.3
$3,000-3,999	10.1	12.3	10.9	13.2	14.3	11.7
$4,000-4,999	7.2	9.0	8.2	10.5	6.7	8.7
$5,000-5,999	9.7	6.6	8.5	12.9	2.1	7.3
$6,000-6,999	5.1	6.6	5.8	7.8	5.2	6.6
$7,000-7,999	2.8	4.1	3.4	5.3	3.3	3.8
$8,000-9,999	2.8	5.8	3.7	8.1	5.3	5.8
$10,000-14,999	2.8	3.8	3.4	3.8	5.3	3.1
$15,000-24,999	0.8	----	0.3	5.8	5.3	5.8
$25,000 +	1.8	----	1.2	----	----	----
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PERSONS	201	722	923	272	228	700









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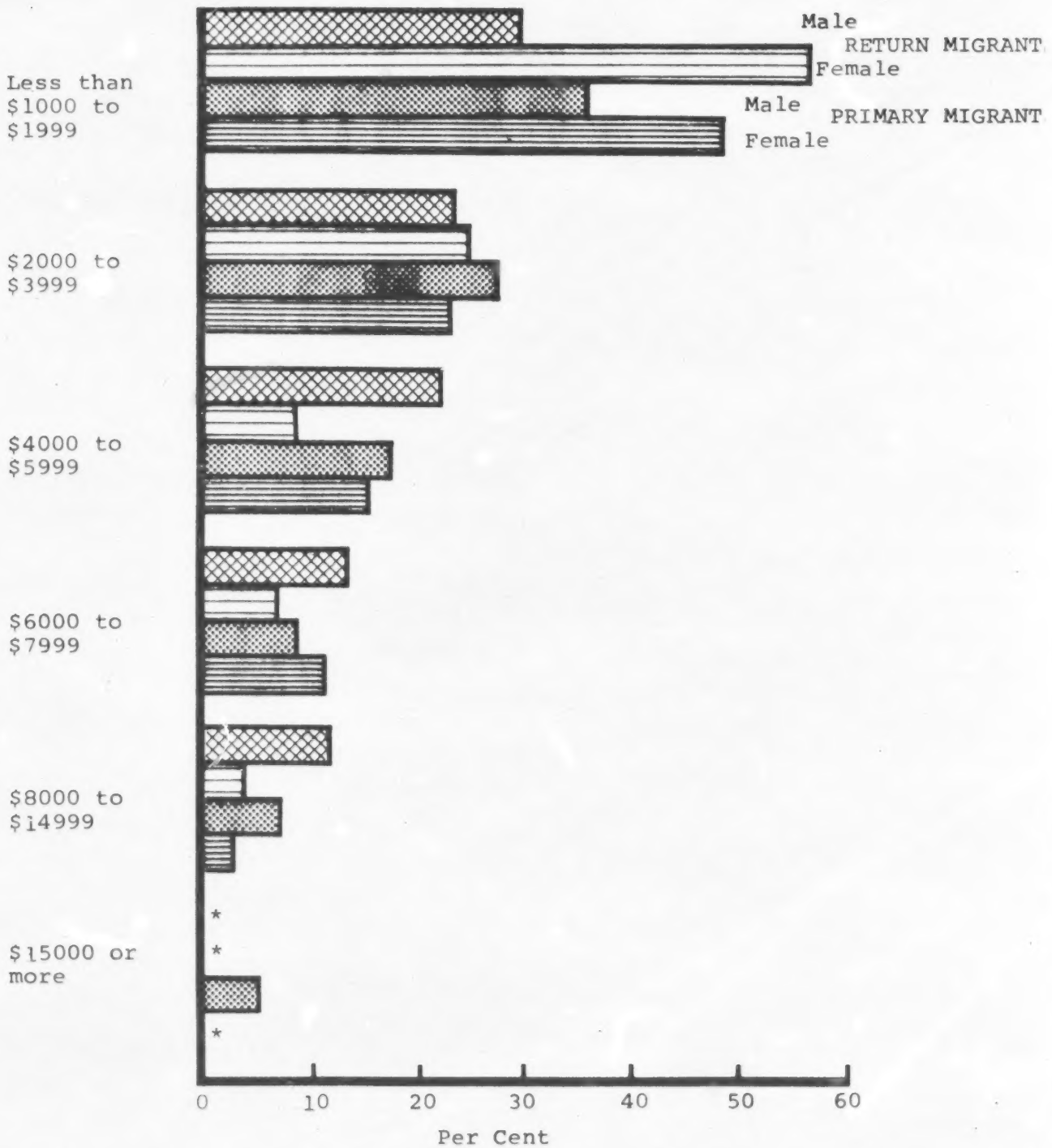

Figure 6. 1969 INCOME BY SEX for Return and Primary Migrants

*Less than One Per Cent